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This is a summary of a questionnaire study of the relationship of low socioeconomic status and educational aspirations and plans of secondary schools students in the Pittsburgh metropolitan area. The findings are presented in a series of five doctoral dissertations, fully reported in UD 007 882. (EF)

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FINAL REPORT

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Final Report

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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POVERTY AND EDUCATIONAL DEPRIVATION

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education
Bureau of Research

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A research project, such as the present one, involving the participation of many different schools, teachers, and students represents a major administrative enterprise. Additional effort beyond the call of duty is required to supply the information desired. Without such voluntary cooperation, this project would not have been possible.

We would like to express our sincere appreciation to the many individuals who participated in this project. The University of Pittsburgh Learning Research and Development Center not only provided us with essential administrative services but also contributed greatly to th theoretical and methodological formulation and execution of the project. We would like particularly to note the contributions of Robert Glaser, C. Mauritz Lindvall, John L. Yeager, and John O. Bolvin. In addition, we would like to acknowledge the help of the staff of Project SUCCEED, especially J. Steele Gow, Jr., who inspired this research endeavor and Raymond C. Hummel who gave it his full cooperation.

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Last, but not least, our thanks go to the thousands of high school students and their teachers who completed the questionnaires on which this report is based. We hope the findings will have sufficient significance to repay them for their effort.

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I. INTRODUCTORY SECTION

Summary
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Summary

Poverty strikes early in an individual's life when it cuts short his educational opportunities. Such deprivation sharply curtails his "life chances" of breaking out of the generational poverty cycle. The major objective of the study is to examine this relationship between poverty and educational deprivation in an attempt to determine how and why it comes about.

Specifically, our aims are as follows:

1. To investigate the relationship between the presence of and exposure to "poverty" among secondary school students and the development of perceptions, attitudes and values, personality characteristics, and behavior patterns associated with a "culture of poverty" or cultural disadvantage.

2. To investigate the relationship between poverty and such cultural disadvantage and the different degrees and types of educational deprivation.

3. To investigate the relationship between educational deprivation and future educational aspirations, plans, and expectations.

4. To investigate the relationship of teacher perception, knowledge, attitudes and values, student-interaction, and classroom practices to the problem of educational deprivation.

5. To investigate the relationship between family structure and educational horizons of siblings in poverty families.

The method used to pursue these objectives involved the collection of data by means of questionnaires administered to approximately 6,500 students and 400 teachers in eight junior and senior high schools in the four-county Pittsburgh metropolitan area. These schools represent a sampling from urban-suburban-rural communities with differing proportions of poverty and non-poverty students. In addition, in order to secure data on a high poverty population, a primarily Negro school with over 75 percent poverty students is also included in the sample.

In each of the schools, all pupils and teachers were administered questionnaires during the school year 1966-67. These questionnaires were distributed at group sessions during which instructions were given and the questionnaires completed and collected.

The results of this study are presented in a series of five self-contained reports, each of which presents its own statement of the problem and hypotheses, methods, analysis, and interpretation. The main findings and conclusions of each report are as follows:

1. Students' Poverty Status and Their Educational Horizons

The educational plans and aspirations of students from low income families were significantly related to both the objective social class position and the subjective class identification of the student. Other constraining social structural factors were parental pressure and peer influence. On the social-psychological level, negative attitudes towards society, the school experience, and one's self, lowered one's educational aspirations. Each of these factors was found to have an independent effect upon educational plans.

2. Educational Horizons Among Lower Class Negro High School Students

As in the case of white students, educational aspirations and plans of Negro high school students are significantly related to the interpersonal influences of parents and peers and to the students' attitudes toward society as a whole, toward the school experience, and toward himself. In addition, the degree of racial alienation and cultural deprivation affect the Negro students' educational horizons.

3. Adolescents' Perception of School Climate as Related to Selected Personal and School Characteristics

The student's perception and evaluation of his school experiences are significantly related to his social class, sex, course of study, extra-curricular activities, grade level, and educational plans. An interaction analysis of the social class of the student and the general social class of the school indicates these two are interdependent and that what is important in school evaluation is a particular type of student attending a certain type of school.

4. The Relationship Between Social Origins of Teachers and Their Attitudes Toward Poverty

Many teachers display patterned discriminatory attitudes toward poverty groups. Such attitudes are closely tied into a middle-class value orientation. Exposure to poverty tends to reduce poverty hostility based upon perceived value discrepancies. Teachers who use ascriptive, evaluative, and pejorative response modes in structuring their personal and/or group relations are those with greatest prejudice toward people from poverty backgrounds.

5. The Relationship Between Family Structure and Sibling Achievement

Family social structure has a significant effect upon students' educational aspirations. Sex, age, and birth order interact with each other to influence the educational plans of siblings. Low socio-economic status and large family size also have a negative influence upon educational aspirations of family members. Siblings

with different educational plans also tend to disagree with respect to such factors as intelligence, school achievement, and perceived parental and peer expectations.

These findings have important implications for both social theory and educational policy. Perhaps most important is the evidence provided concerning the significant influence exerted by social class upon the educational horizons of young people. Educational deprivation is a direct result of social and cultural deprivation. The social structural constraints of lower objective and subjective social class membership and of negative parental and peer influence combine with unfavorable attitudes and evaluations of society, school, and self to decrease the desires and plans of "poverty" students to seek a higher education. The bond between poverty and educational deprivation appears to be firmly established.

Introduction to the Problem

One of the major consequences of poverty for young boys and girls concerns their education. Although all children are entitled to a publicly supported education, there are many reasons to believe that, as currently constituted, the public school educational system is not adequately meeting the needs of poverty youth. As stated in the report by the Panel on Educational Research and Development:

> By all known criteria, the majority of urban and rural slum schools are failures. In neighborhood after neighborhood across the country, more than half of each age group fails to complete high school, and five percent or fewer go on to some form of higher education. In many schools the average measured I.Q. is under 85, and it drops steadily as the children grow older. Adolescents depart from these schools ill-prepared to lead a satisfying, useful life or to participate successfully in the community.[1]

Many explanations have been put forth to account for this situation of "educational deprivation" among the poor. These range from indictments of the schools as being unwilling and unprepared to deal with children from poverty backgrounds, to the middle-class values and social bias of school teachers; from neglect and a lack of interest among community organizations, to the social alienation and limited educational aspirations among the low income groups. Undoubtedly educational deprivation springs from many causes; it is probable that all of the above groups must share responsibility for this situation, just as all must join in any proposed remedy.

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[1] Innovation and Experiment in Education, A Progress Report of the Panel on Educational Research and Development, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, March 1964, p. 29.

The major problem to be studied concerns the relationship between membership of secondary school students in different kinds of poverty groups and various manifestations of educational deprivation. While the literature is replete with dramatic denunciation -- "Passive and unhappy, many children sit in school and learn little. Much of what the school offers appears meaningless to them"[2] -- such generalizations lack sufficient specificity to serve as useful definitions of the problem or guides to action and, in many instances, are based upon largely untested assumptions concerning the nature and consequences of both poverty and educational deprivation.

It is our position that neither poverty nor educational deprivation are unitary concepts and that program planning and development in this area must take into account highly important variations in both aspects of the problem. Poverty will differ from community to community, from group to group, and from individual to individual on such basic dimensions as objective characteristics which place one in the poverty class and subjective awareness of poverty status and the development of patterns of poverty behavior. Furthermore, not all members of the poverty class are equally disadvantaged. Despite similar backgrounds of economic deprivation, we hypothesize that there will be wide variations in the degree of social deprivation and exposure to cultural stimuli. Such variations in the consequences of poverty will also extend to individual differences in values and attitudes, patterns of interaction and behavior, and personality characteristics. An understanding of how and why these differences occur despite similar exposure to a "culture of poverty" will provide important guidelines to intervention and change geared to specific situations, groups, and individuals.

Similarly, not all students from poverty backgrounds will respond in the same way to the educational experience. While alienation may be the predominant theme, we hypothesize that the degree and type of such alienation will vary from school to school and from pupil to pupil. In part such variation will depend upon characteristics of the school itself, i.e., the proportion of poverty to non-poverty students, the existence of special programs and facilities, teacher attitudes and practices; and, in part upon the student himself, i.e., motivation, ability, family situation. It is unlikely that programs can be designed to fit the needs of poverty-students "en masse," but until we know the kinds of variation and their source, we are not in a position to take such individual and group differences into account.

The related literature on the culture of poverty and education is, in some respects, quite extensive. However, Goldberg (1963) notes the need for research in this area, especially in regard to

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[2] Ibid., p. 30.

the characteristics of the poverty group and strategies for teaching them. It is only within the last several years that researchers have turned, in large numbers, toward investigations of the disadvantaged. Even so, the emphasis has been on the preschool and elementary school child, not on the disadvantaged adolescent.

While there appear to be some methodological problems in determining the number of people in the disadvantaged group, most contemporary studies seem to arrive at similar figures (Rein, 1964). This, of course, does not mean that the poverty group is a homogeneous one. Miller's 1964 typology provides an excellent rationale for examining the effects of different types of poverty situations.

One of the striking characteristics of poverty is its tendency to perpetuate itself between generations (Cohen and Sullivan, 1964). The disadvantaged group appears to have a minimal exposure to those cultural stimuli which are necessary for success in middle-class society (Deutsch, 1960). Their value orientation is more traditional, with the father assuming a more authoritarian role than in middle-class families. Religion tends to be strongest among the women (Reissman, 1962). Other findings are overcrowded homes, family disintegration, poor health conditions and a higher incidence of mental illness (Deutsch, 1960; Bagdikian, 1964; Cohen and Sullivan, 1964). Miller (1958) finds that the life pattern of lower-class culture tends to generate gang delinquency.

Educationally, the disadvantaged have a high proportion of school failure, dropouts, and reading and learning disabilities (Deutsch, 1963; Cohen and Sullivan, 1964). Deutsch (1964) maintains that positive self-image is vital to learning. In a recent study Rosenberg (1965) found that adolescents from higher social classes are somewhat more likely to accept themselves than those from the lower class. Class differences in self-esteem were greater for boys than for girls. Deutsch (1960) reports similar results with elementary school children.

Gottlieb and Houten (1964) report that where Negro or white students are in the minority in a school, they tend to enter activities with a minimum of social or unstructured interpersonal contact. Somewhat related is Krauss' study on "Sources of Aspiration Among Working-Class Youth," (1964). High involvement in extra-curricular activities and attendance at a middle-class school were among the sources of aspiration he lists as significant (see Wilson, 1959). Thus, the type of school, location, proportion of poverty students, etc., may be related to the disadvantaged students' attitudes and values toward education.

Cohen and Sullivan (1964) note that poorer families have lower aspirations for sending their children to college than do middle-class families. However, other studies have shown that while the disadvantaged individual is alienated from the school, he does value education and does aspire to college, although for more utilitarian

reasons. Evidently, there is some uncertainty on this point. There does appear to be a difference between the individual's aspirations and expectations and the realization of his educational goals (Reissman, 1962; Hyman, 1953; Reiss and Rhodes, 1959).

Closely related to the educational attitudes, beliefs, success, and alienation of students from school is teacher-student interaction and perceptions. Flanders' (1965) research in Minnesota and New Zealand shows that teacher behavior exerts more effect on pupil attitudes than pupil behavior exerts on teacher influence. However, Gage, et al. (1963) have demonstrated that feedback of pupils' ratings can be used to change teachers' behavior and also improve the accuracy of teachers' perceptions of their pupils' opinion.

Deutsch (1964) contends that teachers and schools are confused and are unprepared for the disadvantaged child. They tend to make certain assumptions which result in failure for the child. Hoehn (1954) could not find support for the hypotheses that teachers differentiate between high- and low-status pupils. Becker (1952) in his study of Chicago school teachers found that teachers perceive and approach different socio-economic groups differently. Teachers felt that less was expected of them with lower-class children. Slum children were perceived to be more difficult to control thus, sterner measures of discipline were used. Slum children were also found to be unacceptable on the basis of their moral values. More recently, Gottlieb (1964) showed that Negro and white teachers perceive disadvantaged youngsters quite differently. He attributes this, in part, to the fact that the Negro teachers came from similar backgrounds as the students and, thus, did not experience as much cultural shock.

The above general statement of the problem and review of the literature will be supplemented in each of the following reports by a more detailed description related specifically to the problem being discussed. Each of these reports also presents its own comprehensive review of the literature.

Objectives and Hypotheses

We may formulate the following general model as representing the major factors investigated in the present study.

Independent Variable	Intervening Variable	Dependent Variable
Poverty Group Status	Cultural Disadvantage	Educational Deprivation

According to this model, individual differences among students coming from different kinds of poverty backgrounds (the "causal" variables) will find expression in varying reactions to the educational experience and differing plans for the future (the "effect" variables). This antecedent-consequent relationship between poverty

and educational deprivation will be modified and conditioned by the degree and kind of cultural disadvantage associated with variations in poverty-status and the different ways in which schools and teachers respond to the problems of teaching students from poverty backgrounds (the "intervening" variables).

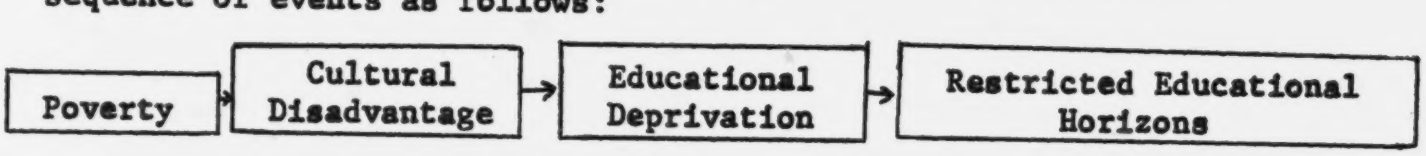
Our specific aims and hypotheses are derived from the above model and may be summarized as follows:

1. To investigate the relationship between the presence of and exposure to "poverty" among secondary school students and the development of perceptions, attitudes and values, personality characteristics, and behavior patterns associated with a "culture of poverty" or cultural disadvantage.

2. To investigate the relationship between poverty and cultural disadvantage and different degrees and types of educational deprivation. It is our hypothesis that when poverty takes certain forms and is expressed in terms of particular aspects of cultural disadvantage these factors will result in educational deprivation.

3. To investigate the relationship between educational deprivation and future educational aspirations, plans, and expectations. One of the major hypothesized consequences of alienation from the school experience among poverty students is the narrowing of their educational and occupational horizons.

In general, the above three major relationships posit a sequence of events as follows:



The multivariate analysis implied in the above model first, seeks to define conceptually and to measure operationally each of the major factors constituting our independent, intervening, and dependent variables; and second, to study the interrelationships of these variables looking at the correlation between any two while the others are held constant. Thus, for example, we are interested in analyzing the relationship between poverty and educational deprivation according to variations in the degree of cultural disadvantage associated with the poverty status. We hypothesize that it is not poverty <u>per se</u> which leads to educational deprivation but rather the extent to which such poverty is accompanied by cultural disadvantage.

4. To investigate the relationship of teacher perception, knowledge, attitudes and values, student-interaction, and classroom practices to the problem of educational deprivation. The teacher represents a crucial factor in the educational experience of the student. Our objective will be to learn as much as we can about those teacher characteristics which have the greatest relevance for the problem of instructing students from a poverty background.

We may assume that some teachers are more successful than others in meeting the challenge of educational deprivation. At the present time, we know very little about the factors producing such variation.

5. To investigate the relationship between family structure and educational horizons of siblings in poverty families. Such factors as size of family, age and sex composition, birth order, etc., are important determinants of the socialization of individual family members. Our hypothesis is that these aspects of the family structure will affect the cultural environment in the home and the educational plans of the different members of the family.

Methods

This study is based upon the analysis of data collected by means of questionnaires administered to approximately 6,500 students and 400 teachers in eight junior and senior high schools in the four-county Pittsburgh metropolitan area. These schools represent a sampling from urban-suburban-rural communities with differing proportions of poverty and non-poverty students. In addition, in order to secure data on a high poverty school, a primarily Negro school with over 75 percent poverty students is also included in the sample.

In each of the schools, all pupils and teachers were administered questionnaires during the 1966-67 school year. These questionnaires were distributed at group sessions during which instructions were given, the questionnaires filled in and collected.

The development of a reliable and valid questionnaire was obviously of prime importance to the success of this project. For this reason, considerable attention was given to construction of this instrument. Other studies of students and teachers were reviewed and their questionnaires analyzed for relevant scales and indices. Questions of particular relevance to the problem of poverty and educational deprivation were constructed leading to the development of comprehensive instruments for pupils and teachers. These questionnaires were administered to pretest groups of 125 students from poverty and non-poverty backgrounds and to 90 teachers. The results of this pretest were analyzed to determine the relevance, reliability, and validity of the various questions and scales. On the basis of this pretest, final questionnaires were developed for students and teachers.

Finding, Analysis, and Conclusions

The results of this study are presented in a series of five reports. Each of these reports constitutes a doctoral dissertation dealing with a specific aspect of the study and each, to a large extent, represents a separate, but interrelated, unit of the total study. Each report has been written as a self-contained entity, including its own statement of the problem and hypotheses, description of method, analysis of findings, and conclusions and interpretation. Together, they cover all of the proposed objectives and hypotheses of the project.

Each report contains a final chapter which summarized the findings for the specific topic being studied and presents a discussion of both the theoretical and practical implications of the results. The reader is referred to these concluding chapters for a more detailed summary of findings and conclusions. It would be repetitive to summarize these findings again in the present section. Instead, we will attempt to bring together some of the main highlights of the various studies as they bear upon the problem of poverty and educational deprivation.

The first report, "Students' Poverty Status and Their Educational Horizons," by Donald Q. Brodie expands upon the hypothesized model by developing in detail the social-structural and the social-psychological constraints which impinge upon the educational plans and desires of low-income white high-school students. He finds that each of the following factors has a significant effect upon the educational aspirations of the poverty student:

Constraining Social Structural and Interpersonal Conditions

Low objective social class position
Low subjective class identification
Low degree of parental pressure for college
Low degree of peer influence for college

Constraining Demographic and School Characteristics

Female
Senior-high school
Non-college preparatory course

Constraining Social-Psychological Factors

Negative attitudes toward society
Negative evaluations of school experience
Negative self-image

In all cases, to the extent that the student is subject to each of the constraints listed, he will be less likely to desire or plan to continue his education. The major focus of the subsequent analysis is upon determining the interactive effects of these constraints upon each other. By examining each constraint while the others are held constant, Brodie is able to conclude that, "when the social structure or interpersonal constraints are in opposition to the constraints imposed by students' demographic and contextual characteristics, the latter modify the influence of the social structural and interpersonal constraints." Similarly, in regard to social-psychological constraints, "in almost all instances in which students are constrained by their social structural or interpersonal conditions, the possession of positive attitudes toward society, school, or self can significantly increase the percentage of them aspiring to college."

There can be little question about the interactive effects of these constraints upon each other. Where these constraints are all present, very few students will aspire to higher education; where they are all absent, almost all students will plan to continue their education. Furthermore, when constraints are operating at cross pressures to one another, they can significantly modify their relative strength.

This major finding has important implications for educational policy makers and administrators. Since students' attitudes toward society, school, and self can alter the negative influence of social background, there is much the schools can do to meet this deficit in the social structure. Building a favorable attitude on the part of the poverty student toward the school, helping him to develop a positive self-image, and decreasing his alienation from society can all help to overcome the negative constraints of his poverty background.

The second report, "Educational Horizons Among Lower-Class Negro High School Students," by David M. H. Richmond offers a similar picture of the Negro students in an urban junior-senior high school characterized by poverty. As in the case of the white students, educational aspirations and anticipations are related to interpersonal influences of parents and peers and to the students' attitudes toward society as a whole, toward the school experience, and toward himself. Thus, we find the same constraints, by and large, operating upon poverty-status Negro students as upon white students. In addition, the degree of racial alienation and objective cultural advantages or cultural deprivation affect lower-class black students' desires and expectations of obtaining a higher education.

An analysis of the interactive effects of these constraints upon each other shows that, in general, they reinforce each other when both are in the same direction and tend to counteract each other when in opposition. Thus, these factors must be viewed as relatively independent determinants of educational aspirations and anticipations. Attempts to raise the educational horizons of lower-class Negro students should take each of these variables into account. However, since each factor makes an independent contribution, changing any one of them will have its own measure of effect. In this sense, it is possible for the schools to make up for a lack of positive influences at home or to reduce racial alienation; but, in the same sense, societal alienation or negative self-image can act as counter balancing forces to these positive influences.

The third report by Barry Kaufman, "Adolescents' Perception of School Climate as Related to Selected Personal and School Characteristics," examines the aspect of attitudes toward school in more detail. The student's perception and evaluation of the school climate is found to be significantly related to the following factors:

1. Social class: lower-status youth indicate more positive perception than do upper-class youth.

2. Sex: Boys perceive the school climate less positively than girls.

3. Course of study: Students enrolled in the college preparatory track show a more positive perception of the school climate than students enrolled in vocational-commercial or general programs.

4. Extra-curricular activities: Students who do not participate in extra-curricular activities perceive the school climate less positively than students who do participate.

5. Grade level: As one moves from seventh grade through twelfth grade, there is a decrease in positive perception of school climate.

6. Educational plans: Students planning on postsecondary education manifest a more positive perception of school climate than those not planning on higher education.

Perhaps most surprising in this analysis is the more positive school evaluation of lower-class as opposed to middle-class students. This is found for both individual students classified by socio-economic status and for schools as a whole when grouped by social class. However, when the interaction of school-social class, sex, and student-social class together on perceived school climate is examined, the findings are altered and the relationship between social class and perceived school climate is less clear. What may be important is a certain type of student attending a certain type of school. From these findings, one may conclude that school alienation is not necessarily a dominant characteristic of lower-income students. In fact, for many of these poverty students, the school may represent a significant and meaningful experience in an otherwise alienated and chaotic world.

Taken together, these three reports provide the major findings related to our initial objectives. We find that low-income status among secondary school students is an important determinant of parental and peer influences and of attitude development in regard to society, school, and self. There can be little question concerning the negative effects of "poverty" in each of those areas. In regard to educational aspirations, "poverty" status is very highly associated with lower educational horizons. The social structural constraints of lower objective and subjective social class membership and of negative parental and peer influence combine with unfavorable attitudes or evaluations of society, school, and self to decrease the desires and plans of "poverty" students to seek a higher education. This applies equally to white and Negro students. The bond between poverty and educational deprivation appears to be firmly established.

A fourth report by David Elliott, "The Relationship Between Social Origins of Teachers and Their Attitudes Toward Poverty," focuses upon the teacher as a potential link in the poverty/educational

disadvantage chain. This analysis presents evidence for the existence of patterned discriminatory poverty attitudes on the part of many teachers. Such discriminatory attitudes are not the result of the middle-class origins of most teachers. They are, however, closely tied into a middle-class value orientation. Teachers who support middle-class values, regardless of origins, tend to be negative in orientation toward individuals from poverty backgrounds. Perhaps even more important is exposure to poverty. It appears from the data that exposure operates to reduce poverty hostility based upon perceived value discrepancies.

By far the strongest associations between predictor and poverty variables are those involving the "other-oriented" values. Teachers who tend to use ascriptive, evaluative, and pejorative response modes in structuring their personal and/or group relations are those with greatest hostility toward people from poverty backgrounds. Not only are these the strongest relationships observed, they are also the most stable when controlled on demographic characteristics. Thus, it would appear from this analysis that generalized perceptions of others are more important in determining reaction to poverty pupils than are perceived value differences.

The implication of this finding for teacher training or selection would strongly emphasize the latter as opposed to the former. It would appear that those teachers who are most in need of training would be the least likely to respond favorably to such training. Rather than training, it would appear that meaningful change could best be brought about by alteration of recruitment and placement policies to secure the services of the least biased ascriptive teachers.

The fifth and final report in the series by Jean Elliott is entitled, "The Relationship Between Family Structure and Sibling Achievement." This report deals with a much more specific phenomenon than the previous ones. Basically, it attempts to assess the relationship between family structure and educational aspirations of siblings from lower-income backgrounds. The findings strongly support the necessity of including a student's family structure or context in any model attempting to specify the social origins of educational aspirations.

More specifically, this report finds the following:

1. Social class is related positively and family size negatively to the educational aspirations of siblings.

2. When a female is the older sibling, the age interval between them tends to be important in their educational planning.

3. Birth order is most strongly related to the educational plans of a pair of siblings when the older student is a first-born female.

4. Siblings evidencing dissimilarity in their future plans also tend to disagree with respect to the following: intelligence, school achievement, subjective social class placement, and perceived parental expectations and friends' plans.

5. If the sibling expecting to attend college is the older of the two, he or she tends to have higher self-esteem, lower alienation, more acceptance of parental discipline, and more optimism.

6. When both siblings expect to attend college, they tend to differ in the frequency with which they have discussed their plans. The older has more communication with parents, teachers, and friends than the younger.

The significance of these findings for educational policy lies mainly in their challenge to many of the current concepts concerning the relationship of sex and birth order to educational opportunities. For example, given certain family compositions, females are as likely as males to have high educational aspirations. This research also does not support the characterization of first borns as achievement-oriented regardless of family size, social class, or sex.

More directly related to education, this report strongly supports the depressive effect that the large family has on the educational aspirations of its members. Siblings tend to have similar educational plans, and in large, lower-income families these are not likely to include higher education. Perhaps compensatory education programs might be made more family than individual oriented.

The higher educational aspirations of the younger siblings suggest that the task of educators is not so much one of initially stimulating students on the high-school level but rather one of sustaining an interest as the student grows older. The decreased aspirations of the older student could reflect guidance counseling efforts or cynicism with respect to the "American Dream." It might be desirable to identify potential college talent among low-income groups early in high school and tentatively award college scholarships to these students even before they reach their senior years.

With these highlights of the main findings before us, we now turn to the detailed reports themselves.

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